UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

An Open Letter to the War Department of the United States

By CLARENCE R. SKINNER

The Work of Women for Peace in the United States

By ANNA GARLIN SPENCER

The World War and a Prophecy

By CHARLES CHAMBERS CONNER

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JOHN HAYNES HOLMES *: Editors :* FRANCIS NEILSON

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCIII THURSDAY, JUNE 12, 1924 NUMBER 15

MY RELIGION

That which I value most in my religion or my aspiration, I seek to find corroborated, in its fundamental unity, in other great religions, or in hopes expressed in the history of other peoples.

Each great movement of thought and endeavor in any part of the world may have something unique in its expression, but the truth underlying any of them has never the meretricious cheapness of utter novelty about it. The great Ganges must not hesitate to declare its essential similarity to the Nile of Egypt, or to the Yangtse-Kiang of China. Only the water-spout displays a sudden arrogance of singularity and vanishes in the void, leaving mother Nature ashamed of so monstrous a production!

Whenever we find, in the immensity of the human mind the prototype of something which we hold most precious in ourselves, we should rejoice. The pride of special possession can cling only to that which has merely a market value.

—Rabindranath Tagore.

It is said that the Senator from Virginia (Glass) speaks of the Senator from Idaho as "the magnificent Borah." "Magnificent" Borah is! Not in any fustian sense of bearing or appearance, but in those high mental and moral attributes which make the man! "Magnificent" in serious devotion to public duty, in intellectual grasp of great problems, in gifts of eloquent and commanding speech, in simple and self-forgetting dignity of character, in sturdy independence of spirit, in prophetic passion for humanity and the peace and brotherhood of men! Senator Borah is the ideal type of public servant, of leader in a political democracy. Almost alone among his colleagues he embodies and thus preserves the august tradition of the Senate so nobly established by the Clays, the Websters and the Sumners in the great days of the nation's life. It is for this reason that we deprecate the talk of nominating the Idaho Senator in the Republican Convention for the Vice-Presidency, and sincerely hope that this talk will be speedily and authoritatively silenced. It is easy enough to see why the Republican machine crowd want Borah for this office. His name upon the ticket will give them that appearance of moral character which now they utterly lack, as the stolen armor in Hewlett's "Forest Lovers" gave to the black villain the disguise of honor. But why should Borah thus consent to be used by unworthy men for unworthy purposes? Why should he sacrifice his envied position of independence, silence his voice upon the Senate floor, doom himself to four years of routine obscurity, to save in an hour of crisis a party which does not deserve to be saved? We believe that Borah is so trusted by the people that they would respect and accept his judgment on any matter, but in the case of consent to the Vice-Presidency it would be with perplexity and vast dismay. Let Borah say "No" to the Republican Party, as the Mountain said "No" to Mahomet. Then history will in due course repeat itself. Mahomet will again come to the Mountain!

Not the least exciting feature of the Levinson-Borah program for the Outlawry of War is its ability to unite all sorts of men, of all sorts of opinions and ideals, in its support. Democrats, Republicans and Socialists, radicals and conservatives, pacifists and militarists, Fundamentalists and Modernists—all succeed in recognizing the efficacy of the Outlawry idea and seeking its triumph. In the same way this plan serves as a medium of reconciliation, a ground of common action, for all the various peace parties into which the American people have been divided by the political controversies of the last four or five years. The League of Nations issue is politically dead, yet it is still very much alive in the minds and hearts of millions of intelligent men and women. But the Outlawry of War program distinctly provides for a league or international assembly and may well take over the existing League as modified to suit its especial design of a warless world. So here is a chance for the League of Nations advocates to accomplish their purposes! The great majority of the American people, we are persuaded, are in favor of an international court, and many are in favor of the United States joining the present World or League Court. Now the court idea is central to the scheme of Outlawry, and every supporter of the idea whom we know conceives of the League Court as the basis for the organization of the court which must be had if the Outlawry of War idea is to work at all. We are anti-League and anti-Court—i.e., we are against these organizations as they now exist in relation to each other and to the Treaty of Versailles—but we are staunch advocates of league and court as embodied in the Outlawry program. So here we may all come together! For the first time we have a peace plan which unites instead of dividing the peace advocates of the country.

We have refrained from saying anything in these columns about the national "Goose-Step Day" next September, when the War Department proposes to put over an experimental military mobilization of our citizens, for the reason that our attitude toward such a

perversion of patriotism for propaganda purposes is too obvious for words. We think the thing an absurdity where it is not actually a crime! The revolt of non-pacifists against this project, however, is an event which must not go unnoted and uncommended. We rejoice to see our contemporary, *The Christian Register,* coming out in attack upon this scheme in plain speech that cheers the heart. The Editor of the *Register,* as is well known, was a supporter of the War, and is not a bit ashamed of it. For pacifism, in the absolutist sense of the word, he has not the slightest use. He believes that, when war comes, as it has come and will come inevitably and righteously, it is the duty of the good citizen to draw his sword and fight for his country. The more significant, therefore, from the standpoint of such views honesty and courageously held, is our colleague's forthright denunciation of "Goose-Step Day."

"The Washington propaganda for a military mobilization next September of our 110,000,000 citizens," he says, "which number of necessity includes even the little children, is in our judgment the worst exhibition of the bristling war spirit that we have heard of since Wilhelm rushed in madness from maneuver to maneuver, from Wiesbaden to Posen, in the decade immediately preceding the Great War. It is a Prussian-spirited shame, filled with dangers to both our political and moral well-being which no man can calculate. For a nation whose resources of defense are incomparable among all the nations of the earth to play the braggart and the bully, is, as the wise of this world already rightly say, so mean as to make us hang our heads and then rise up and resolve to put decent ideas and idealists in control of our national government."

"The reason we have pacifism," continues the Editor of the *Register,* "is to be found in the unspeakable militarism whose agents flood the press with the venom of fictitious hates and imaginary alarms." Just so! And as long as this militarism continues in the press, in our government offices, among our diplomats and statesmen as well as among our soldiers, so long will pacifism be not only as inevitable but also as necessary as it is beneficent. Pacifism will stay on the job until mankind is either wholly saved or finally lost. And we believe that the end will be salvation for the very reason that pacifism is here.

We confess that we like the Methodists. They are socially minded and democratic, they seem to feel the passion of religion, they conform more faithfully to the Christian pattern than any other body that we know save only the Friends. We have already spoken of the remarkable Resolutions against war enthusiastically passed by the Conference at Springfield. But this is only one of many courageous and far-visioned proclamations of spiritual idealism adopted by this assembly. The members, of course, did not waver on the liquor issue, but affirmed afresh their traditional opposition to this monstrous evil. They supported the idea of federal education, and endorsed the Sterling-Reed bill providing for a department of education in the cabinet. They affirmed the right of labor to organize and to share in the control of industry, and called for a living wage and proper safeguards for the workers' health and security. They pointed out the distinction between "property for use" and "property for power," and declared that "wealth accruing to the holders through monopoly values or special privileges, or through large opportunities for costless saving, is not earned, and wealth created by society should be devoted to the development of all the people in ways to be determined by the people themselves." We like this declaration on wealth as much as we liked the earlier declaration on war. Both these statements, and the others quoted, mean business; and, whether we agree with them in all details or not, we must agree that they reveal a live church quickened by a Christian conscience to courageous action. Incidentally, and not accidentally, we believe, it is to be noted that the Springfield Conference has not been troubled by the Fundamentalist controversy. We wish that there were more people like the Methodists.

Bishop William Montgomery Brown may be a heretic, as the trial court in Cleveland has declared. He may even be insane, as some of his enemies have charitably proclaimed. In either case, or in both cases, we can only say, after reading his address to the court, that we heartily wish there were more heretics and lunatics in the church. Here are some of his statements—

I reached the conclusion that there was only one Christianity, and that each church was the interpretor of that Christianity on the same level as all the other churches. . . Then I went on to say that the church of the Anglican communion could make no more of a divine claim for existence than the others.

I'd preached against him (Darwin) all my life and I hadn't read him. That's not so strange as you might think. Call the average clergyman to the stand and ask him if that's not so.

The world of science was a new revelation to me. I saw that the history of the world could be divided into two periods, the pre-Darwinian period of traditional supernaturalisms and the post-Darwinian period which began a new world. It was impossible for me to go back.

I had set my heart, as we all do, in getting to heaven, but after I studied astronomy I wondered how I would get there.

I wrote to the Bishops about it (the War). Do you know, every mother's son of them was for the war. It discouraged me a lot. To feel that my own church would promote war made me feel discouraged.

Then I became a Socialist, and that brought me into a new world.

The only thing upon which the salvation of the world is dependent is the truth.

It is evident enough from these confessions that Bishop Brown is not a churchman; and must thus be ousted from the church. It is equally evident from these confessions, however, that he is a Christian, and a highly enlightened one. Strange, is it not, that the two things must be utterly inconsistent!

"The Protestant churches are going to pieces," says Dr. Algernon T. Crapsey, in an interview in the New York papers on the eve of the publication of his autobiography, "The Last of the Heretics." We believe that his judgment is sound, as witness his proclamation

that there will be no more heretics. There isn't enough vitality in the churches to define and enforce doctrine. There's only energy enough left for endless unseemly squabbling. What is this whole Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy, from the Potter-Unitarianism on the one hand to the Straton-Millenniumism on the other hand, but a part of the breaking-up process which is now universal? Nobody has any serious interest in it, save as it is a "fight" and therefore a sensation. But the sensation passes—there are other and fresher "fights" to occupy the front-page spaces! and the churches settle down again into the old doldrums of their desuetude. Nothing will save these churches but such revolt as is now appearing here and there on the war issue. But this revolt is certain sooner or later, we believe, to flow out into new movements, of which the community church is one expression, and thus produce at last a new reformation. Protestantism, in other words, is in the same plight today that medieval Catholicism was in the fifteenth century. It is "going to pieces," just as Dr. Crapsey says; and out of it will come a third type of Christianity, marking a third epoch of Christian history. This is what Dr. Crapsey means, we are sure, when he entitles his book, "The Last of the Heretics." An era in religion is closing, and another era beginning. Crapsey stands like a John Huss of the new day.

The reaction against Papini's "Life of Christ" has begun. We are only surprised that it has delayed so long! Thank heaven, we spotted the book at the start for what it was. Thus in our issue for June 21st, 1923, shortly after its publication, we said:

> Mush, slush, gush, are the only adequate words to describe Papini's "Life of Christ." That a serious publisher and an able translator should have combined to produce this book in this country seems to us nothing short of an insult to American intelligence. That church leaders should be receiving it rapturously is a terrific commentary on the contemporary state of Christianity.

Now at last, a year later, other papers are coming round to our original position. Thus the *Christian Advocate* expresses its regret at having been "misled into printing an approval of Papini's 'Life of Christ,'" and begs Protestants not to "stultify" themselves by "reading anything that this Italian stylist might say about Christ." *The Christian Century,* commenting on Papini's new book, "Dizionario dell'Omo Salvatico," declares that the author reveals himself therein "as a fanatical medievalist, a hater and a maligner of Protestantism, an opponent of general education, . . . an apologist for the burning of heretics, the advocate of universal sovereignty of the Pope as 'Lord of the World.'" *The Churchman* seems to feel that all this will doubtless "be a shock to the readers of his 'Life of Christ.'" But why? What were these readers doing when they perused this obnoxious biography? Everything that Papini has later revealed of himself was implicit in that book for those who had eyes to see or brains to understand. From beginning to end the "Life of Christ" was a disgusting reek of sentimentality where it was not a black poison of intolerance and hate. It is a scandal of the first order that it has taken our contemporaries a year to find this out.

An Open Letter to the War Department of the United States

Gentlemen:

If I am correctly informed, you are planning to organize a national mobilization and preparedness day in September, when the largest possible number of men, women and children will be asked to co-operate with the War Department in activities of a military nature. Your object, as I understand it, is to build up a vast net work of industrial workers, community organizations and school children who, on the day in question, will place themselves at your disposal and follow your orders.

Nothing has stirred me so deeply in a long time as the realization that here in the United States we are to have so amazing and apparently unnecessary a demonstration of military power in civil affairs. It is hard for me to conceive an act of government more ill-advised and more unwarranted, and I know that there are thousands who feel as I do.

Many of us "pacifists" who have the peace of the world earnestly upon our minds and hearts cannot let this occasion pass without voicing public protest. We believe that this mobilization or "Goose-Step" day as it is being called, is far more significant and sinister for the future than you or millions of our fellow citizens realize. We want therefore to take our stand against it, and we want an opportunity to put before the country the reasons for the faith that is in us.

I therefore challenge you, or some representative of your staff, to an open debate upon the advisability of national preparedness day.

This debate might take either one of two forms, or both: First, we might meet for an oral discussion in some public hall such as a school building in some of the larger centers such as Washington, New York, Chicago and Boston, or secondly, it might take the form of a series of articles in a magazine such as UNITY or in the public press.

In making such a challenge, gentlemen, I am but taking a step which seems to me to be the right of a citizen in a democracy. If government is truly "of the people, by the people, for the people," it should from time to time appear before the people to account for its stewardship, and it should give the people opportunity to question it when it embarks upon such

radical departures from accepted policy as you propose. I trust that you will recognize this as a sound principle in government.

In order to make this challenge more concrete, I append a series of questions which I believe should be answered.

First, *Is this scheme of mobilization representative of the American people?* Have our minds become so completely obsessed by fear of foreign foe that we are ready at this moment in the world's history to conscript every man, woman and child for military service? What evidence is there that America demands or desires such a demonstration? If it is the function of a democratic government to serve the will of the people, what effort was made to find whether the people willed this act?

Second, *If this plan of mobilization day was not demanded by Democracy, was it demanded and superimposed by a growing military autocracy?* Is there not a very real and growing danger in the United States that the departments of government dealing with military affairs are developing into institutions of public control and propaganda? Is this not clearly evidenced by their attitude to colleges, women's peace societies, increasing budgets, founding of citizens' training camps, and affiliated activities?

Third, *If this "Goose-Step" Day is successfully organized, what guarantee is offered that such occasions will not increase until the American people become unconsciously thoroughly militarized?* Have members of the War Department read history enough to know that the militarization of European countries came about by very subtle and apparently innocent means such as these which are now being proposed by and for our War Department? Why should America be an exception to the rule?

Fourth, *Will one day devoted to military propaganda do a single thing effectively otherwise than popularize military rule?* Will one day's activities teach men, women or children any lesson of self defense other than that of obedience to military orders? Will it really teach the technique of preparedness, or will it merely fill the minds of unquestioning people with the glamor and romance of patriotic fervor?

Fifth, *What interpretation will be placed upon this mobilization day by other countries, especially Japan, the South American Republics, the Caribbean islands, France and Germany?* Is this going to strengthen the confidence of other peoples in us? Will it disarm their suspicions? Will it increase the good will of our neighbors? Will it aid the peace parties in European countries who are struggling to lead their nations in the direction of a less militaristic civilization?

Sixth, *What effect will this movement have upon the influence of the United States in her efforts to secure world peace especially by limitation of armaments?* Will other people have more confidence in our sincerity because of this mobilization day? What will Japan and Mexico think of our honesty in proposing that they reduce their armament if we take steps to mobilize every man, woman and child in this country?

Finally, *What would you think if you found that Germany were to have such a mobilization day next fall?* Is there any reason why other people should not think exactly the same thing about us? Yours truly,

CLARENCE R. SKINNER.

Jottings

"I believe in the maintenance of an army and navy," said the President in his Memorial Day address, "not for aggression but for defense." Mr. Coolidge here expresses agreement with Kaiser Wilhelm II, with Napoleon I, with Charlemagne, with Attila, with Cæsar. Every army since the world began has been organized for purposes of defense and used for purposes of aggression.

China has recognized unconditionally the Soviet Republic of Russia. Thus the good work goes on, and America gets more lonely than ever.

Plans for the entrance of the United States into the World Court are embarrassing in number and in character. Add to Lodge's plan and Pepper's plan, however, one more—the Outlawry of War plan! This is a *real* plan, since a court can be independent, international and an agency for enduring peace, only when made a part of a system in which war has no legal place at all. The present Court is ineffective because it has no absolute and final jurisdiction—the appeal to war may always be made. So with Lodge's and Pepper's courts! But the Outlawry court, like the Supreme Court of the United States, means business. Such a court America can safely and wisely enter.

Senator Fletcher, of Florida, describes the proposed Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution as an abandonment of Americanism in favor of "Leninism." It's amazing what a beneficent government this Russian Bolshevism is!

The Methodists are offering a genuine challenge to all other Christian bodies in appointing their peace commission of twenty-five members "to invite the religious

organizations of the world to join in a conference to seek means of making future wars impossible." This invitation should result in events marking a new epoch in the history of the churches on the peace question.

The action of the Presbyterian Assembly on the Fosdick case is unsatisfactory. Like all timid compromises, it only prolongs and aggravates the trouble. Why not tell Dr. Fosdick either to go or to stay?

J. H. H.

The Work of Women for Peace in the United States

The meeting of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom,—formerly called the Women's International Committee for Permanent Peace,—recently held in Washington, D. C., was a notable occasion. Although this was the first meeting of this international body in the United States, it has had an American President from its birth in 1915,—our own Jane Addams. The League has had the devoted service of this President ever since, in the support of the International Headquarters at Geneva, Switzerland; for the engineering of its meetings, at the Hague in 1915, at Zurich in 1919, at Vienna in 1921, at the Hague again in 1922; and at this last gathering in our own country. It was meet that grateful recognition was given to Miss Addams for her unique service to this body, and also to Prof. Emily Balch who served so long as the Executive Secretary at the International Headquarters, when the women met in the national home of their American leaders.

The objects of this body of women have been summarized as follows: "The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom aims at binding together women in every country who oppose all war and who desire to promote the following objects: namely,

"1. The creation of international relations of mutual co-operation and good-will in which all wars shall be impossible.

"2. The establishment of political, social and moral equality between men and women.

"3. The introduction of these principles into all systems of education."

The delegates from the more than thirty countries represented in the League meeting at Washington were an able and a distinguished group of women. The "Who's Who" of the Congress, and an account of the principal events, together with a detailed statement of the Resolutions and Affirmations passed upon, will constitute an important contribution to the history of both the peace movement and the organized work of women.

The object of this article, however, is not to make that report but rather to present something of the historic background of this and similar reform organizations in relation to the peace movement in the United States. The Swedish Section of this League showed that piety of remembrance which is the mark of the historic sense by preparing for distribution at the Washington meeting an attractive pamphlet in which was set forth the work of Fredrika Bremer, in 1854, in the interest of an "Alliance of Women, embracing the whole earth, to oppose the direful effects of war and to contribute to the development of a state of love, peace and well-being." Those compiling this pamphlet rightly connected with this early effort of their distinguished national writer the later advent, in 1888 and 1893, of the International Council of Women, with its Standing Committee on Peace and Arbitration and its affirmation of the Golden Rule in universal application as its avowed purpose; and also with the W.I.L.P.F., born in 1915 under the shadow of the last war.

This historic sense was not much in evidence elsewhere in the Washington meeting. Had an address been scheduled that could have acquainted the foreign delegates with past efforts which have alone made possible recent movements of reform, they would have gained a better idea of the varied service of the women of this country in the effort to substitute law for war. Still more, had some adequate mention been made of the present-day work of American women for peace, outside of the membership of their own body, those coming from other lands (who knew only the members of the W.I.L.P.F. and of those perhaps only the women from our country who had attended the meetings of that League previously held in other countries), would have gained far more of that mutual understanding which is the basis of effective peace work.

It is now fifty years since the women of our country organized actively for special work for peace. Women were members of the American Peace Society, the oldest organization in our country pledged to substitute law for war, from the beginning of that pioneer organization, early in the 19th century. Under the able leadership of Benjamin Trueblood women were freely used in its service. There came a time, however, when many women felt that the mother-sex could give a peculiar emphasis of appeal against the waste and horror of war, and efforts at separate organization began. Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, whose "Battle Hymn of the Republic" was used as a marching song by many of the soldiers in the last war, was impressed during a visit to Europe in 1870 and 1871 with the need of rousing women to a great peace protest. Returning to her own country she started in 1871 what she called "Woman's Peace Festival or the Mother's Day for Peace." The movement which she initiated in England, before her return, consciously joined itself to the peace crusade of the American Elihu Burritt, who had formed his "League for Universal Brotherhood" in 1847, and who started the women's auxiliaries under the name of "Olive-Leaf Circles." These "Circles" attached themselves to Mrs. Howe's effort and hence her movement from the first had international aspects.

A day in early summer was chosen for the special meetings and in our country was linked to "Decoration Day." Mrs. Howe anticipated the "Youth Movement" of today (which was so finely outlined at the recent Washington meeting of the W.I.L.P.F.), when she said in her first great address,

> As we deck our heroes' graves with flowers we must work and pray for that peace on earth and good-will to men which consecrate to life, and not to death, the idealism of youth.

In pursuance of her plans there was held on the date of June 2nd, 1874, a great number of meetings in this country and abroad, all focusing attention upon the claim of motherhood to be heard in the debates on

peace and war. Hundreds of men attended these women's meetings and many spoke at them. More gatherings were held in the Eastern than in the Western States but they covered a large area.

London, Manchester, Edinburgh, Rome, Geneva and Constantinople responded, also, to Mrs. Howe's call, and sent back glowing reports of interesting meetings. The resolutions passed at these meetings were significant. Perhaps the finest and firmest expression of what is now called "Radical Pacifism" was embodied in the Resolutions written by Rachel S. Howland, a noted "Friend," and endorsed at the meeting in New Bedford, Mass. This intrepid and far-seeing woman declared that

> Women, as the mothers of the race, have a right to be heard. They teach their children the lessons of peace, at home and lead them along to manhood for far different purposes than to be food for powder.

She added her belief that

> If the women of the world, representing the half of creation that is not of the warrior class, will come forward in all their moral force and protest against the war system they may help immensely in the establishment of universal peace.

The Resolutions closed with the ringing and definite demand,—

> We ask for the abolition of the war system, to be brought about by a general disarmament, and the establishment of a Congress of Nations, every nation so represented to be bound to submit to decisions; and with homes organized, and with governments already established, it only needs determination on the part of the people to Will to Have it So and the delegates can be appointed by each power, according to the forms of such power, and time and place of meeting agreed upon.

What these prophetic resolutions called for is not yet accomplished, but there has never been a time since those words were spoken when the women of this country have not striven, with men, or in separate organizations, for all then demanded.

When Mrs. Howe started her Mother's Day for Peace the women of the United States had little contract power as individuals, had no vote or political influence, and were under most hampering economic conditions. They were in the midst of a struggle for equal rights under the law, for equal opportunities in education and in vocational and professional standing, and for franchise representation in the Republic. That struggle soon absorbed largely and inevitably the major leadership of women in this country. Later, Mrs. Howe herself became absorbed in the general organization of the higher interests of women which preceded the Women's Club Movement in the United States,—namely, "The Association for the Advancement of Women" of which she was for so long the President. In that Association, however, the Committee on Peace and Arbitration embodied her work and kept the interest of women keen and intelligent, along international lines.

When the Hague Conferences began to mark the great strides taken by men toward the substitution of Law for War, another Peace-Day was chosen especially to commemmorate the opening of the first Hague Conference, on May 18th, 1899. Women gladly fixed that Day as their own. The International Council of Women in many of its National Sections, made that day a great occasion for use by their Standing Committees on Peace and Arbitration. The Council Section for the United States, in particular, under the ardent leadership of May Wright Sewall, marked the beginning of the Hague Conferences by meetings all over the country. In 1907 the first great National Peace Congress of America was held in New York City, and over 400 women delegates, from educational, religious, and reform bodies, attended, and voted in its deliberations. Edwin D. Mead of the World Peace Foundation, and Benjamin F. Trueblood of the American Peace Society, suggested this meeting and Andrew Carnegie acted as its President. The special object of this Congress was to influence the approaching Third Hague Conference toward a distinctly advanced peace program; and it offered for the first time in this country an opportunity for all the existing peace organizations to come together.

This Congress presented what was then a novelty in such national gatherings, a Section devoted to "The Relation of Women to the Peace Movement" arranged for and presided over by a woman, the writer of this brief sketch.

At this meeting Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, President Woolley of Mt. Holyoke College, Mrs. Ellen M. Henrotin of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, Mrs. Frederick Nathan of the Consumer's League, Mrs. Bailey of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, Jane Addams of Hull House, and Senorita Huidobro of South America, spoke; and Mrs. Julia Ward Howe and Mrs. May Wright Sewall were guests of honor.

The latter, although speaking briefly, reported more fully in print for wide distribution, on the work of the National Council of Women of the United States in the celebration of Hague Conference Peace Day. She reported a total of over 1,400 meetings in the six years preceding this Congress, held in every State of our Union, except Florida, Mississippi and Alabama, in which addresses had been made and resolutions had been passed in support of the Hague Conference demands for Peace and Arbitration. Mrs. Sewall, in behalf of the National Council of Women called for an "International Parliament" to sit regularly as a law-making body and for an "International Permanent Court" to act as a law-interpreting and law-enforcing body.

If any impatient person asks why did not this work of women, joined to that of men, prevent the Great War, the answer must be that the world had not yet learned, before the fateful year of 1914, what great variety of agencies must be at work to create political, economic and social mechanisms that can actually function to prevent the appeal to force when national interests clash.

We are all, since the World War demonstrating the actual unity of all peoples in the actual processes of living, convinced, at last, that not only the Will to Peace, but the Ways to Prevent War, must be our aim, our study and our social accomplishment.

This new appraisal of the social demand for new channels of world organization, to show even to the common mind easy ways of avoiding the waste and horror of war, has already given us scores of varying organizations, societies and agencies. The inner motive of them all is the same,—to clarify the demand for mutual aid, for mutual respect, for common obligations, and for methods by which national patriotism may be harnessed to international good-will for the common good of all humanity.

In the work of women for peace we have now, not a few, but many societies. It has been said that there are seventy peace organizations, and peace committees

or councils, in other organizations, which are dealing with one or another phase of women's work for peace in the United States.

Of these there are several outstanding and influential of which note must be taken. The Committee for International Co-operation to Prevent War of the League of Women Voters, with their strength, their enthusiasm and their fine organization behind it; the revived and all-pervasive Peace Committees of the W.C.T.U.; the enlarged and highly influential peace work of the Y.W.C.A.; the greatly increased effort toward the Outlawry of War among the women of the churches and synagogues; the highly intelligent and devoted work of the Women's Pro-League Council, now happily united in effort with the men's Non-Partisan League of Nation's Association; and the rapidly extending work of the Councils to Prevent War, both National and Local, in which all the efforts of women for peace may be, and in which many are already, federated;—these are all parts of a great common work.

Had representatives of all these organizations, in proportion to their strength, been present at the Washington meeting of the W.I.L.P.F., the foreign delegates would have gained a better idea of the many-sided peace work of American women.

Our situation in regard to any work of reform or of education is not paralelled by that of any other country. Our vast extent of territory, our separate autonomy of forty-eight Commonwealths, the varied economic and social interests of our different sections of country, our enormous and yet unassimilated foreign-born population, all make unified effort along any one line exceedingly difficult.

Moreover, in this country perhaps even more than in any other, the peace movement is split into a confusing contest as to method of work. Even among the so-called "Radical" peace workers, there is a curious survival of sectarianism, that makes an "orthodoxy" of method rank with a unity of aim, to divide and to weaken. The whole peace movement in this country is now where the social process called "Charity" was fifty years ago,—a mob of separating efforts waiting to be organized into an army of effective social service. The whole peace movement in this country is now where the educational process was a hundred years ago, when each department of the schools was working independently of any other, waiting for the unity of purpose and of practical administration that now links the kindergarten to the state university and the graduate school, in the enlightened centers of the United States. The overwhelming need now is for an alignment of the peace forces in pursuit of a common aim, with some consensus of the logical next steps, and some ability to march together in securing them.

The one thing upon which an overwhelming majority of peace workers are agreed just now is the entrance of the United States into the World Court; with only the Harding-Hughes Reservations, and no fancy whimsies of highly individualized Senators to prevent straight action.

There is a large body of democratically minded citizens of our country who are also for a People's Referendum in case war threatens. Perhaps a popular referendum on that proposed war referendum would show a majority of those voting, in favor of such appeal to the people in place of dependence upon government heads in vital crises.

What amount of actual agreement there may be among the citizens of our country on the prevention of war, and the measures needed for that prevention, we cannot know unless some great opportunity for conference and decision upon that one question is afforded.

We hear talk of the United States inviting another World Conference on Armament or on Economic Readjustment, or both. Very well, perhaps, although to many the simplest and most effective way to deal with these problems would be through the agency of the League of Nations, which has already set up machinery for these very things and waits eagerly for the co-operation of the United States to make that machinery more effective. What is surely needed is to find out what the people of the United States themselves want to do for world peace. For that information we need not so much new world-conferences at which the United States shall serve as host, as a national conference on our own foreign policy, a national conference on our own peace movement, a national conference on what the United States can and will do as a united people to help organize the world to substitute law for war.

Perhaps the first step toward such a vital conference would be for the women workers for peace in our country to federate their organizations, to come to some agreement as to what constitutes essential principles and what may be relegated to justifiably varying methods, and to set a fashion in reform work that can really unite, instead of dividing, those whose lives are consecrated to outlawing war.

Perhaps the next step would be for the churches and synagogues, already taking, many of them, firm ground on the sinfulness of wholesale, legalized, human slaughter, to call in the women, and start a mutual alliance of the religious groups and the women's organizations, to educate the people of the United States on the real issues of peace and war at the present time. Perhaps the next step would be a real national conference of political leaders, of religious leaders, of educational leaders and of economic leaders, together with social workers, to map out a real program of effective international co-operation to prevent war.

In this, or some other fashion, the scattered forces of education and of reform must be united for actual leadership of public opinion on which all social advance must at last depend.

In the multiplicity of societies and agencies for peace work in our country there is yet one encouraging feature that must not be overlooked. They testify to a wide and growing consciousness that war is wrong, is wasteful, is obsolete as a method of settling international disputes. Like all waves of feeling which respond to social situations this consciousness is necessarily at first confused and at best expressed in widely varying ways. That industry and commerce and education and religion and social sympathy and motherly devotion to the conservation of life all respond, at once, to this feeling that war is now outgrown, means inevitably many ways of trying to deal with the problem of what can take its place.

Unlike the waves of feeling, which, coming from all sides sway in all directions, the advance in modes of thought as applied to practical social engineering is a logical and constantly growing process. It is only when the many-sided feeling is wed to the latest clarification of thought and the best demonstrated method of social

adjustment that a great step forward in social advance is made possible.

Only then, from the marriage of clear thought and passionate feeling, come the actual achievement of some new social order. In this manner slavery and the subjection of women, unjust privilege of special classes and the oppression of the masses, the tyranny of superstition in a ruling religious order and the backward look in education, and in this manner only have these ancient evils been outgrown.

Is there not indication today that the world is more and more feeling that war must go; and that the world is thinking with increasing clearness and power how its substitute in law can be developed and applied?

If this be so, where stands the United States in this great concern? "Politically illiterate," economically selfish, adolescent in national feeling, torpid in spiritual response to world needs, dull to the real meaning of the World War, hesitant when the trumpet of the Time-Spirit sounds the advance?

Let us hope not so shall the New World answer to the Old.

ANNA GARLIN SPENCER.

New York City.

My Jail Experiences

I.

The reader knows that I am a hardened crminal. It was not for the first time that I found myself a prisoner in the March of 1922. I had three previous South African convictions to my credit, and as I was regarded at the time by the South African Government as a dangerous criminal, I was moved from jail to jail and was able, therefore, to gather much experience of jail life. I had, before the Indian conviction, passed through six prisons and had come in touch with as many superintendents and many more jailers. When, therefore, during the beautiful night of the 10th of March I was taken to the Sabarmati Jail together with Mr. Banker, I did not feel any awkwardness which always attends upon a strange and new experience. I almost felt I was going from one home to another in order to make more conquests of love. The preliminaries were more like being taken to a pleasure-trip than to jail. The courteous Superintendent of Police, Mr. Healy, would not even enter the Ashram but sent Anasuyabai with a message that he had a warrant for my arrest and that a car awaited me at the Ashram gate. I was to take whatever time I needed for getting ready. Mr. Banker, who was on his way back to Ahmedabad, was met by Mr. Healy on the way and already arrested. I was not at all unprepared for the news that Anasuyabai brought. As a matter of fact, after having waited long enough for the coming of the warrant which everybody thought was imminent, I had given instructions that all should retire and I was myself about to go to bed. I had returned that evening from Ajmere after a fatiguing journey where most reliable information was given to me that a warrant had been sent to Ajmere for my arrest but the authorities would not execute the warrant, as the very day that the warrant reached Ajmere I was going back to Ahmedabad. The real news of the warrant therefore came as a welcome relief. I took with me an extra *kuchh* (loin-cloth), two blankets, and five books, Bhagavad Gita, Ashram Hymn Book, Ramayan, Rodwell's translation of the Koran, a presentation copy of the Sermon on the Mount sent by schoolboys of a High School in California with the hope that I would always carry it with me. The Superintendent, Khan Bahadur Wacha, received us kindly, and we were taken to a separate block of cells situated in a spacious, clean compound. We were permitted to sleep on the veranda of the cells, a rare privilege for prisoners. I enjoyed the quiet and the utter silence of the place. The next morning we were taken to the Court for preliminary examination. Mr. Banker and I had decided not only not to offer any defense but in no way to hamper the prosecution, but rather to help it. The preliminary examination was, therefore, quickly over. The case was committed to the Sessions, and as we were prepared to accept short service the trial was to take place on the 18th of March. The people of Ahmedabad had risen to the occasion. Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel had issued strict instructions that there should be no crowds gathering near the Court-house and that there should be no demonstration of any kind whatsoever. There were, therefore, in the Court-house only a select body of visitors, and the Police had an easy time of it, which I could see was duly appreciated by the authorities.

The week before the trial was passed in receiving visitors who were generally permitted to see us without restriction. We were allowed to carry on correspondence so long as it was harmless and submitted to the Superintendent. As we willingly carried out all the jail regulations, our relations with the jail officials were smooth and even cordial during the week that we were in Sabarmati. Khan Bahadur Wacha was all attention and politeness, but it was impossible not to notice his timidity in everything he did. He seemed to apologize for his Indian birth and unconsciously to convey that he would have done more for us had he been a European. Being an Indian, even in allowing facilities which the regulations permitted, he was afraid of the Collector and the Inspector General of Prisons and every official who was at all superior to him. He knew that if it came to a struggle between himself and the Collector or the Inspector General of Prisons, he had nobody to back him up at the Secretariat. The notion of inferiority haunted him at every step. What was true outside was equally true, if not truer, inside the jail. An Indian official would not assert himself, not because he could not, but because he lived in mortal fear of degradation, if not dismissal. If he was to retain his post and obtain promotion, he must please his superiors even to the point of cringing and even at the sacrifice of principles. The contrast became terrible when we were transferred to Yeravda. The European Superintendent had no fear of the Inspector General of Prisons. He could claim just as much influence at the Secretariat as the latter. The Collector, for him was almost an interloper. His Indian superiors he held cheap and therefore he was not afraid to do his duty when he wished and was equally unafraid to neglect it, when discharge of duty was an onerous task. He knew that, as a rule, he was always safe. This sense of safety enables young European officers

often to do the right thing in spite of opposition either from the public or from the Government, and he has also often driven coach and six through all regulations, all instructions and defied public opinion.

Of the trial and the sentence I need say nothing as the reader knows all about it, except to acknowledge the courtesy which was extended to us by all the officials including the Judge and the Advocate General. The wonderful restraint that was observed by the small crowd of people that was seen in and about the Court, and the great affection showed by them can never be effaced from memory. The sentence of six years' simple imprisonment I regarded as light. For, if Section 124 A of the Penal Code did really constitute a crime and the Judge administering the laws of the land could not but hold it as a crime, he would be perfectly justified in imposing the highest penalty. The crime was repeatedly and wilfully committed, and I can only account for the lightness of the sentence by supposing not that the Judge took pity on me, for I asked for none, but that he could not have approved of Section 124 A. There are many instances of judges having signified their disapproval of particular laws by imposing the minimum sentence, even though the crime denoted by them might have been fully and deliberately committed. He could not very well impose a lighter sentence seeing that the late Lokamanya was sentenced to six years' imprisonment for a similar offense.

The sentence over, we were both taken back to the prison, this time as fully convicted prisoners, but there was no change in the treatment accorded to us. Some friends were even permitted to accompany us. Leave-taking in the jail was quite jovial. Mrs. Gandhi and Anasuyabai bore themselves bravely as they parted. Mr. Banker was laughing all the time and I heaved a sigh of relief thanking God that all was over so peacefully and that I would be able to have some rest and still feel that I was serving the country, if possible more than when I was traveling up and down addressing huge audiences. I wish I could convince the workers that imprisonment of a comrade does not mean so much loss of work for a common cause. If we believe, as we have so often proclaimed we do, that unprovoked suffering is the surest way of remedying a wrong in regard to which the suffering is gone through, surely it follows as a matter of course that imprisonment of a comrade is no loss. Silent suffering undergone with dignity and humility speaks with an unrivalled eloquence. It is solid work because there is no ostentation about it. It is always true because there is no danger of miscalculation. Moreover, if we are true workers, the loss of a fellow worker increases our zest and therefore capacity for work. And so long as we regard anybody as irreplaceable, we have not fitted ourselves for organized work. For organized work means capacity for carrying it on in spite of depletion in the ranks. Therefore we must rejoice in the unmerited suffering of friends or ourselves and trust that the cause if it is just will prosper through such suffering.

Young India. —*Mahatma Gandhi.*

(*To be continued.*)

The World War and a Prophecy*

The World War, so general was it, became naturally perhaps, if not inevitably, a tragedy of the world, and more a tragedy, it seems, since it was ended than during the waging of it. Who was to blame for it we thought we knew. But subsequent considerations with published facts regarding it have made us less presumptive or certain. War propaganda there was, misleading or obscuring, as with the smoke of battle. There were Germans, the bulk of the soldiery, who thought they were fighting for the defense of fatherland; they were later disillusioned. Little Belgium resisted a trespass, and Paris, the French capital, and the whole French nation are under an everlasting debt of gratitude for that. England resented the violation of Belgium. Russia fought to falter. Italy was brought in to fight Austria, one of the Central powers. Allied diplomats entered into secret treaties, unknown to us at the time, with the epectation of victory and a division of spoils. Finally—having named a few nations involved—America was drawn in, and went in with open motives which were unimpeachable, and we are not aware of any disposed to impeach them.

America, through its chief executive, sent across the sea, before any men went over, a light which penetrated the confusion of fighting, and interpreted by wise words an objective for the Allies and unified the forces for the laudable objective of making democracy, the cause of the people, prevail over an aggressive, grasping autocracy. As war, with few exceptions in the past, with possibly no recent exceptions, has its origin in and support through the imperialistic ambitions of nations, the World War was henceforth fought by the Allies "to end war," "to make the world safe for democracy," safe for the people, safe for little nations as for great. You will permit me here to quote myself in an utterance from this platform in the regular ministry nearly two years ago, which some of you may recall as I now repeat:

> War, of which the world has become weary, is in its aggressive aspects a product of empire or kingdom. Militarism is part and parcel of the system of empire. A republic or a democracy may consistently with its principles engage in a defensive warfare, but never in that which is aggressive. For every man respects the rights of every other man in a democracy—that is the law—and applying it to the whole, a nation must recognize and respect the rights of every other nation, or people, or country. It will not, true to itself, go forth to take from any by force. And when there are no military aggressors there is no need, and will be no fact, of warlike defenders.

Germany did not reckon with the strength and promptitude of this republic, else she should have been exceedingly careful to do nothing which might incite this nation to enter the lists against her. She could not have been otherwise than surprised and confounded at the quickness with which a million American men were put in the fields of France against her. And another million were ready for the possible safe convoy of vessels over seas, as every man of the million had been actually convoyed there without loss or harm amid all the lurking perils of the sea at that time.

We are sure that every man of the great number who embarked knew why he was going. There had

*A Memorial Sunday address was delivered at a union service in the Universalist church, Rochester, Vt., May 25th, by the minister, who reviewed as briefly as he might the respective significance of three wars—the Civil, the Cuban, and the World War—and cast a prophetic look toward the future. It is reported in part for UNITY, giving the whole of the latter and longer division.

been an interpreter for him. A knowledge of our aim had been broadcasted without the radio. With existing methods of communication the people at large had sensed the purpose of the American nation. Some went with the spirit of adventure no doubt, some possibly just wanting to be in the excitement of the fray; but every one was advised, and went advised, that it was, on our part, "a war to end war," and, while the life of every soldier then and since has not been altogether exemplary, the offering of life for a cause which was worthy and great made the offering worthy and great. There is a poem of appreciation, "Subalterns, a Song of Oxford," by Miss Mildred Huxley, written of those who offered and gave themselves in supreme sacrifice. It is an English appreciation, as the title indicates; it may be ours as well—

They had so much to lose; their radiant laughter
Shook my old walls—how short a time ago;
I hold the echoes of their song hereafter
Among the precious things I used to know.

Their cup of life was full to overflowing,
All earth had laid its tribute at their feet.
What harvest might we hope from such a sowing?
What noonday from a dawning so complete?

And I—I watched them working, dreaming, playing,
Saw their young bodies fit the mind's desire,
Felt them reach outward, upward, still obeying
The passionate dictates of their hidden fire.

Yet here and there some grey-beard breathed derision,
"Too much of luxury, too soft an age!
Your careless Galahads will see no vision,
Your knights will make no mark on honor's page."

No mark? Go ask the broken fields in Flanders,
Ask the great dead who watch, in ancient Troy,
Ask the old moon as round the world she wanders,
What of the men who were my hope and joy!

They are but fragments of Imperial splendor,
Handfuls of might amidst a mighty host,
Yet I, who saw them go with proud surrender,
May surely claim to love them first and most.

They who had all, gave all. Their halfwrit story
Lies in the empty halls they knew so well,
But they, the knights of God, shall see His glory,
And find the Grail ev'n in the fire of hell.

Many have felt that the millions of young lives who sacrificed themselves with the slogan of "a war to end war" have been betrayed, considering the present state of the world five and more years after. Diplomats at the Paris peace conference spoiled the ensuing peace, it is believed. The voice of militarism was not hushed, and was too loud there. And America's attitude after the conference has not been consistent with its own anterior purpose, and is discredited abroad and condemned by men of high standing and splendid ethical ideals at home.

But never before in the history of the world has so much been felt and said against war as in the last decade. In previous ages war was looked upon as a matter of course and no one ever attempted to justify any then waged. No monarch ever made excuses for his aggressions, or sought to shield himself from blame, or tried to disown responsibility for such. Not so now. Public opinion so rose against it while the late war was being fought that no ruler or diplomat wanted to take the blame for it or face the ignominy of it. He that was blamed tried to shift all responsibility for it to other shoulders or to other heads. And since that ended which it was hoped should be the last, sentiment has been gathering strength and momentum for the realization of the prophetic ideal when "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." No cause today is claiming so much of the thought of men and women, uttered in the public prints and organized in numerous societies, as that of "the outlawry of war"—to make it a crime as murder is a crime, and to brand the nation that attempts aggression against another a criminal, to be condemned and treated as such by a World Court. This is hopeful for the cause of peace.

But again a caution may be suggested. Hope should not be too high on the present grounds of a world civilization and may be hereon disappointed. The state of the grounds is due to the tread of feet over them. Armies have marched too long with a political complexion which has not been changed, which remains as it was many, many decades ago. Nations, as individuals, need a change of heart. There is something vitally wrong with a civilization in which there might be the breaking out of such a huge festering sore as the late war and the threatening state of Europe today.

Dr. J. P. Jacks, of England, has put his thumb on the world's pulse, has taken the temperature of our world civilization, and has diagnosed the disease. He has done it in the Hibbert lecture of last year on "Civilization in a Living Universe." He is sure, and others who have attained his vantage point of view are sure, that a league of nations on a political basis will be without adequate effect in achieving what is wanted in the abiding peace of the world, and he stresses the immense difficulty of making a league of nations out of a political civilization. He would see substituted for this, or caused to control or to subordinate this, a cultural civilization. A political civilization is defined as a struggle for power, first struggle to gain, next to keep. At the second struggle, as he says, we get what is called "the balance of power," which, he adds, is "the most unstable kind of balance under the sun." "The main object in the civilization of culture," quoting him, "is not to increase the power of the State but to promote the best mode of living among the citizens, and it attaches more importance to their personal characters than it does to their possessions."

His hope is in proper education. Besides there is a growing demand among men and women for the civilization of culture. "There is a shifting of the basis of civilization in the direction of culture. Watch that movement for education," he advises, "and you will see that every step it takes forward is a step towards the point where the nations will find a common object and become a co-operative community." He tells us truly that culture in the sense of being not mere varnish but human development in the receptive capacity and active capability of living the good life, in which the State, according to Aristotle, should help us, is essentially an international or co-operative enterprise. "We haven't to *make* it so by compacts and treaties and covenants; it *is* so by its own nature. Make culture, in that large sense, your basis and a League of Nations would almost come of itself," he declares. And so it would. His concern is not with it, and our concern should not be today with it but rather with the preparation of humanity for it. And this preparation must certainly be through Christian agencies, which are among the cultural, to bring the needed change of heart to communities and states and nations.

Some of us would prefer to define what is called a

"political civilization" as a competitive civilization, and what is called the cultural we would name the Christian and co-operative. The nominally Christian nations have forgotten the Christ in spirit and in truth, if they ever knew him in the vital sense. He spoke to his first disciples of the princes of the Gentiles who exercised dominion over their fellows, and of the accounted great as using authority, and said it should not be so among them, but whosoever is great should serve, even he that is chief among them. Accordingly he said, "I am among you as he that serveth." A disciple of him means a learner and follower of him in the spirit of him. A nation that claims or wears his name should know and exemplify what is consistent with that name.

Service opens the gates of life to the good time to be. Put the reality and power of it into the whole world: It shall utterly destroy the competitive civilization that is—competitive in the business of individuals, in the commerce and armaments of nations—and there shall appear on earth in its stead the co-operative civilization that should be—individual working with individual, each in his place, for all to live, nation so dealing with nation that what one lacks of necessities or graces, in the diverse resources of different regions of the earth, another shall supply in good will with adequate returns or compensation from the served, all in the enjoyment of a prosperity which will be mutual and abiding.

A book was read last week in which Arthur S. Hoyt made a statement of fact which suggested a series of questions. It is this: "The march of the race has been the march of armies, and the strong have risen over the prostrate forms of the weak." And the questions: "Shall it be to the end of the story? Shall each nation seek its own and worship the God of national love, and forget the God of the whole earth? Shall we ignore the lesson of nature and history, of science and religion, and deny the bonds that God has made, and call the vision of a new Internationalism of justice and co-operation and brotherhood too good to be true?" The questions are answered by a prophet approaching our own time who

. . . dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be;
Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies of magic sails,
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales;
Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and there rain'd a ghastly dew
From the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue;
Far along the world-wide whisper of the south-wind rushing warm,
With the standards of the peoples plunging through the thunder-storm;
Till the war-drum throbb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furl'd
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.

CHARLES CHAMBERS CONNER.

THE STUDY TABLE

"The Lengthened Shadow"*

To me who has read and loved so many of William J. Locke's books it is a keen disappointment to follow the story of his latest work, "The Lengthened Shadow."

"Timothy Swayne dated all his troubles," so the book begins, "from the day when a butter-fingered nurse maid dropped him on the bath room floor."

Of course this was the accident that made Timothy Swayne one of Mr. Locke's admirable cripples. Throughout the story Swayne is kindly, brave, patient, and lovable. It is when Mr. Locke creates a villain, that we quailed. Of all witches of late fiction we think Moodins the most unconvincing. He almost seems like the picture rooster that the little boy put the *third* leg on in order to make it difficult to guess what it was. Moodins can fly and crow and he has feathers, but the third leg queers him and makes it impossible to call him a villain—he's a joke.

There is a girl Suzanne, the niece of a bad tempered, bad mannered uncle Grabbiter, who rather pleasantly dominates the book until Moodins casts the spell of his unreality upon her and then *she* does not ring true. Suzanne Chastel defies her uncle and rightly enough describes him by his proper title, "an old beast." She leaves his house, and possible fortune, and goes as governess in Swayne's modest home.

Incidently Swayne had early married, been widowed and had on his hands a small girl, Naomi, a rather amusing child.

When Grabbiter dies he leaves his wealth to Suzanne but upon the most amazing terms. She is to share her time with the two guardians appointed, Swayne and the dangerous Moodins.

The story deals largely with her experiences in these homes, one in England, one in France. Moodins, middle aged and not at all physically alluring, soon attracts Suzanne and the trouble begins.

There is a supposed daughter of Moodins, Valerie by name, who might have been a striking character in the Bluebeard period, but who seems positively silly in this day and generation. Toward this daughter Moodins shows the most revolting brutality and Suzanne living under the same roof sees in her guardian only the most charming and captivating gentleman.

There is a sickening description of a bull fight to which Moodins takes Suzanne, that almost opens her eyes to his true character; but not quite. We have never seen a bull fight, but we are willing to admit that Mr. Locke's portrayal of one confirms our belief that we do not want to see one.

There are touches in the book where Locke shows the charm of the power of "The Beloved Vagabond," "Stella Maris" and "Septimus" and other of his earlier books, but largely he digresses from his old style and gives us a new side light on his work which we humbly hope is *only* a side light, not the true illuminating power.

There is some mystery in the book concerning the true parentage of Valerie and the private life of old Grabbiter; there is some interest undoubtedly—but we wish that Locke had not written this book!

When all the signs pointed to the rightness of Suzanne loving Swayne, we are disappointed when, after Moodins' timely and awful death, she loves nobody, but sets the signals to guide Swayne to Valerie without rhyme or reason.

We are not sharp set about a novel having a happy ending, but we do like a consistent one. We feel that life itself has so many phases that may supply story endings, that it is footless to say either happy or unhappy endings are of necessity "true to life." There is only one ending to real life that is in any sense an "ending" and that is death; between birth and death rise many beginnings, many endings, all that writers

*"The Lengthened Shadow," by William J. Locke. Dodd Mead, New York.

need concern themselves with, is the consistent ending of the little scrap of life they choose to select to portray.

And in Mr. Locke's book we feel that if Swayne had to marry anyone, it should have been the one who —fitted into the puzzle; not the one who had to be whittled into form to fill a chink. After all this it may be surmised that we do not care for "The Lengthened Shadow"; well, we don't! But we are willing to concede good points in the story: here and there a sincere Locke touch, and a fairly good plot.

HARRIET T. COMSTOCK.

"The Hour of Judgment"*

No poetizing—no phrasing—but the clean sharp stroke that cuts its way like a surgeon's knife laying truth bare.

Not a syllable there flutters—not a line but carries its inescapable message borne on the swift surges of intellectually controlled emotion.

This is Viola White at her best—and she never falls far from her best in the poems contained in "The Hour of Judgment," which lies upon my desk.

When we come to the dialogues the matter is quite different.

She seems to misunderstand her vehicle. One feels that if the high vision of which she is capable had held her in its thrall the result would have been inevitably a poem—a psalm—a sonnet—not a prose dialogue.

The poetic form beats through her veins by strong impulsives. Nowhere have I seen so penetrating a discernment of the great Russian heart as in her "Russia 1918":

My love walks under bitter skies
And few there are to call her fair—
There is presaging in her eyes,
And there is blood upon her hair.

. . . . . .

Dreamer invincible she goes—
And where her feet have trod I seem
To see creation that uprose
To meet the courage of her dream.

Yet it is not her feet in the single poem that gives its name to the volume that Miss White attains her highest vision.

You think that clad in lightning, he
Will run on earth disastrously—
That seeing him shake on the air
You will have warning to prepare?
No! He is listening and low—
Like a ragman he must go
A dark way full of murmuring
Till he hear the final things.

In these lines, as in all of Miss White's poems, "Form" is the outcome of "Content"—and the content is the product of intellectual insight combined with a passionate sympathy for the dramatic struggle of the spirit to free itself from the bondage of circumstance and tradition and fear.

A far stronger appeal than the Calcutta dialogue is made for non-violence in the poem called "Preparedness."

Force never conquered force—
War never ended war—
It breeds the hate that breeds the war again.
The righteous children of a righteous nation
Before they let it slay or violate
Must choose to suffer death or violation.

The simplicity and rigid restraint belong to Gandhi, but in her apostrophe to America she becomes less the apostle of endurance than prophetess of a new freedom.

The freedom that I supplicate for thee,
America, is neither singed with swords
Nor portioned by war-lords.

. . . . . .

I charge thee that she stand within thy gate
Defended by the torch within her hand,
America—it is not yet too late!

In a less plethoric age Miss White's high courage and poetic power might do as much for American achievement as the Athenian poet did for Sparta.

F. J. W.

*"The Hour of Judgment," by Viola White. B. J. Brimmer Co., Boston.

CORRESPONDENCE

"THE PROGRESS OF JAPAN"

Editor of UNITY:

In the May 1st issue of your valuable magazine, UNITY, I read with much interest an article under the caption of "The Progress of Japan," written by Dr. David Starr Jordan, the eminent scholar, educator and pacifist, known for many years as one of the true friends of Japan in this country. No one would fail to appreciate the stand he takes in defense of Japan or any other nation, as long as he feels that that nation has been wronged and outraged by the recent exclusion bill, but that does not furnish any just ground for deliberately overstating the facts. The following excerpts from his article are some of the examples:

He says that, in reference to the Japanese withdrawal from Siberia and Shantung, and the scrapping of vessels, "Japan had proposed most of these things, and they claim truthfully, I think, that their governments have never broken their pledges," that "if Japan ever was a militarized nation she has now fully recovered from the illusion," and that "the chief external embarrassment of Japan comes from the open sore which some of our politicians in California are so anxious to keep from healing."

It strikes me that Dr. Jordan should study these important questions more carefully before he speaks or writes on them, at least for the sake of his numerous readers and hearers, unless it is his intention to mislead them. Japan may claim most anything and the world may believe most everything she claims, but does the Stanford University President really "think" that she had proposed most of these things and also that she has never violated any of her pledges? The facts to the contrary are too numerous and too proverbial to require any further refutation.

Japan has fully recovered from the militaristic illusion? Since when? The world has never been informed of it. The diplomats and propagandists, those "honorable gentlemen *lying* abroad for the sake of their nation," occasionally make such assertion but hardly any one really believes it. The Japanese people themselves do not know it. In fact, they are struggling desperately against militarism. The Nipponese Government can not recover itself from it, without a revolution, even if she wants to. The very foundation upon which the autocratic system of that Empire rests is the military power. The moment the foundation goes, the entire edifice will sink. The foundation is so profoundly shaken by the growing agitation of the liberal movement during recent years that the government has been seeking to avert her "internal indigestion" by means of "external exercises." In other words, she tries to avoid her internal eruption by directing the attention of the nation to a military conflict with some outside power.

Any one who has nerve enough to utter that the so-called "gentlemen's agreement" has never been violated in a single case by Japan reveals nothing but his ignorance of the situation. There are many people on both sides of the Pacific who will take such a statement merely as a joke. Furthermore, that agreement is positively an infringement of American sovereignty, if the immigration question is a domestic one. The argument that in order to satisfy the demands of a proud, sensitive people the United States should yield, at least in some measure, its own sovereign rights is based neither on a right principle nor a wise policy. Does any one know when Japan will ever cease to be sensitive and demand no more? If not, one should find it out before making any more sacrifices, because it will be easier to do so now than later. Korea, for example, tried to satisfy the demands of that Island Empire but

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

CONVENTION CALL.

The National Women's Trade Union League of America calls its Members, Affiliated Leagues and National Committees, and all Affiliated Trade Unions and State Federations to send delegates to its Ninth Biennial Convention to be held at New York City, June 16 to 21, 1924.

The Convention to which this Call summons you has a twofold significance. It brings to a close a score of years of high endeavor, and it opens the door to still greater opportunities for service.

These past twenty years have witnessed the steady growth of trade unionism until it has spread over the entire world, and we see today the destiny of a great empire in the hands of the toiler. Everywhere are the signs of a new order, an order in which the exalted privilege of service shall be shared alike by the worker at the bench and the worker at books; an order in which high qualities of heart and mind shall alone be the passport to this "special privilege" of ministering to a world's needs.

This same score of years has also witnessed the steady forward march of woman. And as she has progressed, her opportunities have enlarged with the enlarging opportunities of the worker; and side by side with the worker she has emerged into a broader field of self-expression.

The Women's Trade Union League has constituted what may be termed the woman's movement within the labor movement, and has gone forward with that movement; and in many phases of woman's advancement, ours is the organization that has carried high the standard of the woman in industry. Out of this dual role there has grown a double mission. The labor movement as a whole looks to us to be spokesman for woman's interest; and women's organizations everywhere ask of us an interpretation of the problem of the woman who works, and of her attitude toward the issues of the day.

This dual role of interpreter, in which we find ourselves, demands that we keep vigilantly alert to all that affects the welfare of the woman worker. She must have just and adequate protection that all her best capabilities, as a woman and as a worker, may be released for her task. It is our prerogative to co-operate toward that end.

That our counsel together may be made most profitable, committees of delegates to the Convention will be appointed to take up the work of the National Women's Trade Union League in its several divisions:

Organization: There are eight and one-half million wage earning women in our country—two and one-half million under twenty-one years of age. Overstrain at this age means health broken for life. Only a small proportion have the safe-guard of trade union organization. This part of our work alone commands our very earnest thought, and calls for effective team work between our National and local Leagues.

Education: Workers' education, emerging from the pioneer stage, offers many perplexing problems. This Committee will study the educational activities of the National League, with special reference to its Training School. An effective method must be found for recruiting students who bid fair to return to the labor movement some measure of service—as organizers; as secretaries handling the details of some union; or in undertaking much needed research work.

Legislation: The Committee on Legislation will bring up for discussion those issues upon which the League has concentrated its attention. Principal among these is the Federal Constitutional Amendment proposed by the National Woman's Party. This Amendment is dangerous because it takes no account of existing legal or industrial facts and conditions.

International Relations: The closer affiliation of women workers of all countries is an important plank in the League's platform, and because of its direct influence upon the better understanding between nations, we who gather in Convention must give our best thought to this welding together in bonds of fellowship of all the world's workers.

Outlawry of War: If the National League is to fulfill its mission in helping to outlaw war as the legal method of settling disputes between nations, it will be well for the Convention to give special heed to the most effective way of urging this thought upon the world.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL STONE ON EX-ATTORNEY-GENERAL PALMER

In view of Dean Stone's appointment to the Department of Justice, it may be of interest to our readers to recall the letter which he addressed to a Senate sub-committee when A. Mitchell Palmer was running wild in his "red" raids. We print it herewith:

"It does not seem open to serious doubt that although there is no constitutional prohibition of the deportation of aliens within the United States, nevertheless an

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she found out too late, through bitter experiences, that the greed of a nation, like that of an individual, knows no bound, until it is checked.

In short, the growing menace to the peace of the Pacific is looming not on this side of the big ocean but on the other side. The sooner the nations help arrest the growth of that menace, the better for the cause of permanent and lasting peace between the Orient and Occident. What a blessing it would be to all the lands bordering on the Pacific, if the peace advocates in this great nation could be brought to realize this fact!

D. Y. NAMKOONG.

Korean Commission, Washington, D. C.

A NEW COMMUNITY CHURCH

Editor UNITY:

It was quite a surprise to me one day last week to come across a splendid new building, for size and architectural dignity and beauty the outstanding feature of a thriving North Carolina town in the Piedmont section which, I was told, was planned and built for a Community Church. I had noticed the building but being a stranger in the place I did not know just what it was, whether court house or school or city hall or what. It was evidently a public building of some sort, but as there was no name anywhere that I could see I was at a loss to know just what it was. Some children I asked said it was a school house. By a mere act of providential guidance I happened to meet a gentleman in front of the building as he came up in his automobile and got out. On asking him, he said it was intended for a Community Church. It was especially planned to serve the needs of children. There were to be not only classrooms, an ample and well lighted auditorium but playgrounds were provided for, adjacent to the building. The structure of rough surface tapestry brick, its majestic columns in front, its fine interior finish would have been an outstanding feature anywhere. All the more so in this small industrial town of about 6,000 inhabitants in North Carolina. The gentleman told me very quietly that he was building it himself at his own expense as a memorial to his wife. When finished it would cost in the neighborhood of $100,000. No he was not particularly interested in any church. His wife who passed away a few years ago was a member of the M. E. Protestant church. This denomination as I understood him to say provided for the Sunday Services. But they did not have any regular minister or speaker. "Are you going to be in town over Sunday?" he asked. "Would like to have you talk to the children. Stay with me." I did not feel that I could easily accept his invitation. But as he showed me over the building my heart warmed toward him. In all my travels in the state from the mountain region of Asheville in the west to Kinston and Greenville near the sea in the east I had not come across what might be properly called a Community Church. I was told today by a prominent S. S. teacher who ought to know that there was not another one in the state. Naturally I suppose that the founder of this church knew something of the Community Church movement in other parts of the country. I was surprised to find that he knew very little about it in a definite way and had never heard of John Haynes Holmes whom I explained might be called the leading apostle of that movement in America. He wanted his address and began to write it down in his notebook. He hesitatingly asked if he were a minister. Then I had an inspiration and suggested that he would find a certain paper called UNITY published in Chicago of which Dr. Holmes was editor, interesting, as it would be a means of his keeping in touch with other ventures of the same character all over the country. He did not jump at the proposition but thought over it a moment or two. Asked how often it came, and the price and when I told him he said he would like to have it and wrote me out a check for the amount. And that is why I am sending you this subscription for Mr. C. F. F—— of Thomasville, N. C. I am sure he would be glad to get any special issues or publications bearing on the subject he is especially interested in if you have them for distribution.

N. S. HOAGLAND.

Salisbury, N. C., April 27th, 1924.

alien who has been admitted to the United States by the immigration authorities is a 'person within the United States' and therefore entitled to the protection of the due process of law guaranteed by the constitution to persons within the United States.

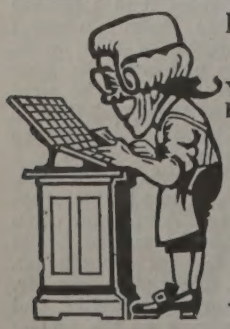
"It appears by the public admission of the attorney-general and otherwise that he has proceeded on the theory that such aliens are not entitled to the constitutional guarantee of the due process of law.

"Moreover, it appears from the reported decisions of federal courts that in deportation proceedings taken by the department of justice under direction of the attorney-general, aliens have been deprived of such constitutional guarantee. It also appears that the agents of the department of justice, in violation of the express provisions of the statute, have arrested aliens in deportation cases without warrants.

"These undisputed facts would of themselves seem to require a thoroughgoing investigation of the conduct of the department of justice in connection with the deportation cases. Moreover, the statute authorizes the deportation of aliens because of their political opinions and confers upon administrative officers the power to deprive persons within the United States, who are aliens, of their liberty without the ordinary safeguards which are given to those who are charged with crime. The reason why these safeguards are provided for those charged with crime is not because they are criminals, or probable criminals, but because sound public policy requires that every individual who is deprived of his liberty should have the protection of those safeguards.

"It is, therefore, very much to be hoped that any such investigation will not only reveal fully the facts with respect to the violation of constitutional safeguards and statutes by the agents of the department of justice in the administration of deportation laws, but that such investigation will result in legislation more adequately protecting aliens or those alleged to be aliens, but who may be citizens of the United States, from the arbitrary exercise of power by administrative citizens.

"It is inevitable that any system which confers upon administrative officers power to restrain the liberty of individuals, without safeguards substantially like those which exist in criminal cases and without adequate authority for judicial review of the action of such administrative officers, will result in abuse of power and intolerable injustice and cruelty to individuals."



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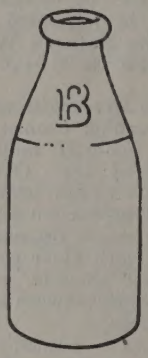

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